2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Otuké SF18 Bororo SP8

THE BORORO

By Robert H. Lowie

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Bororo* linguistic family comprises two major branches, the *Bororo* proper and the *Otuké* (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913). Culturally, the *Otuké* must be considered with the tribes of the Province of Chiquitos (Handbook, volume 3). Ethnographically, the *Bororo*, at least of the *Eastern* subdivision, are far better known.

I. *Bororo:* (1) *Eastern Bororo;* (2) *Bororo da Campanha;* (3) *Bororo do Cabaçal;* (4) *Umotina* (*Barbados*), formerly between the upper Paraguay and Sepotuba Rivers, peaceable since 1913; remnants survive in Barra dos Bugres; (5) *Bororo* of the upper Rio Cuyabá; and (6) *Bororo* in the Minas triangle (aldeas of Sant' Anna, Pizarrão, Lanhoso, and da Pedra, founded in 1741 with *Bororo* from the Rio dos Porrudos as a protection against the *Southern Cayapó*. In 1811 part of the aldea das Pedras was transplanted to Bananal, an Araguaya River island. The fifth and sixth groups are now extinct.

II. *Otuké:* (1) *Otuké* proper, about lat. 17°–18° S., long. 59°–60° W.; (2) *Covareka*, about lat. 17° S., northwest of the preceding; and (3) *Curuminaka*, just southwest of the Guaporé headwaters, lat. 16° S.

The *Bororo* subfamily centers in Matto Grosso, but extends slightly across the Bolivian border and into western Goyaz. Excluding the virtually extinct groups noted, we may recognize a *Western* and an *Eastern* subdivision. The former includes the *Bororo da Campanha* (*Campina*), i. e., the plains dwellers southwest of the lower Rio Jaurú, an affluent of the Paraguay River; and the *Bororo Cabaçaes* (*do Cabaçal*), north of the Jaurú River on both banks of the Rio Cabaçal. The *Eastern Bororo*, or "*Orarimugudoge*," to whom the blanket term "*Coroados*" has sometimes been applied, extends from lat. 15° to 18° S. and from long. 52° to 56° W. The three subtribes live about (1) the upper and middle São Lourenço River; (2) the Rio das Garças, a tributary of the Araguaya River; and (3) the Rio Vermelho, affluent of the upper São Lourenço; here are the villages of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori.

In 1888, Von den Steinen (1894) visited a São Lourenço group which had been settled at Thereza Christina, near the Prata-São Lourenço confluence, southeast of Cuyabá. He set the population at 350 and heard that it had originally been 1,000. Another group was then settled at Izabel, at the Pequiry-São Lourenço confluence. In 1901, W. A. Cook (1907) visited eight villages in this region.

The Rio das Garças district has been missionized by Salesians since 1902, Colbacchini describing the natives in a major treatise (1925). In 1934, Baldus (1936) visited Sangradouro, Meruri, and Tori-paru, villages in this area, and estimated that less than 1,000 *Bororo* lived east of the Paraguay River. In Tori-paru he found a little over 100 residents, 35 men occupying the men's house.

Lévi-Strauss (1936) investigated the village of Kejara of the Vermelho division and estimated its population at 140. This is probably Frič's Kejari (1905), since moved to a different spot.

In 1894, J. Koslowsky (1895 b) saw some *Western Bororo* in Descavaldos and across the Bolivian border.

In 1931, Petrullo (1932) took photographs of the *Bororo da Campanha* and on the São Lourenço River. His excavation of sites at Descavaldos revealed pottery and a method of interment different from those of the *Bororo* and presumably pre-*Bororo*.

[Bororo da Campanha]

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space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently.

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleeping either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no further furniture. Each family had its own hut.

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no industry whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments.

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language being almost forgotten even by the older people.

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompaniment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Several times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance

574 735 342 352 512 323 287 178 411 177 197 574 533 535 [273]

/516 cont./

114 Language. The linguistic material collected among the Bororó, which will perhaps suffice to establish at least the most important grammatical outlines, has not yet been worked over.
●197 Up to now I have not been able to find any linguistic /517/ relationship with other known idioms. In any case, the Bororó belong neither to the Tupí nor to the Gês, as one might at first
[175] think. Nor would it be particularly strange if all efforts remained fruitless, because the vicinity of their territory, over a wide area,
648 has experienced very restless times since the first settling of the Mato Grosso. In the north the road leads toward Goyaz, which they have often harrassed with their attacks; in the south the discoverers came from the province of S. Paulo, and here as well as there years of slave-hunting took place.

194 The language is melodious and for us, apparently, easy to learn. As for consonants, only f is lacking, apart from fatogúro, "saliva"; double consonants are rare, the terminal sound is vocalic. The accent is generally on the penultimate syllable.
193 There is no plural ending for the substantive. The independent personal pronouns are: 1. imi, I; 2. aki, you; 3. ema, au, he; 4. pagi, we; 5. tagi, you; 6. emagi, they. The corresponding pronominal suffixes for substantive and verb are:

1. i-, 2. a-, 3. —, 4. pa-, 5. te-, 6. e-.

194 In use, various forms of phonetic change and influences on the initial sound of the stem appear. I shall give a few tentative examples:

	Ear	Nose	Head	To go
1.	i-wiya	i-keno	i-taura	i-i-tua
2.	a-wiya	a-keno	a-kaura	a-tua
3.	biya	eno	kaura	tua
4.	pa-wiga	pa-geno	pa-gaura	pa-dua
5.	te-wiya	te-geno	te-taura	te-dua
6.	e-wiya	e-keno	e-taura	e-tua

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

131 The Umotina, who call themselves the Balorié,
[10] are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraternidade Indígena near Barra do Bugre on the Paraguay River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
[197 below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
161 number about 65, are related linguistically to the
184] Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In two respects, at least, they differ sharply from
142 their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichocephalic. The local Brazilians call them the Barbados, owing to their beardedness.

361 In the old days the village (*muktmo*) was built
621 on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of
342 houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house (*ishipá*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming down to the ground, the whole being covered with pacova palm fronds except the two ends which were left open. This house type is the same as that formerly found among the Guató who live to the south of the Umotina. Each family had its own house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on
[374] the ground. The husband kept a fire going all night not only for warmth but also to drive away the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyotókwa*) made from a buriti palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled
[834] over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide the end of the penis from the women. Men
302 wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the back of their heads, and allowed their beards to grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair
[304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand, cut their hair short, and plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imetá*) made
304 from woven cotton. Like the men, the women had their ear lobes pierced.

[P. 106 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo SPB

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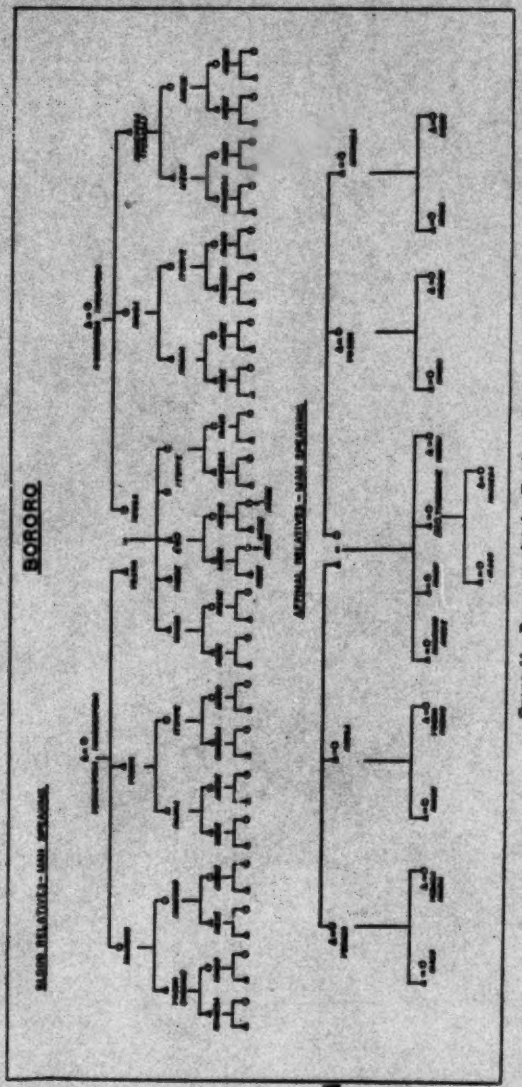

CHART 11.—Bororo, unrelated. (See Appendix 2.)

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4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara
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UMOTINA
BLOOD RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
BLOOD RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING
AFFINAL RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
AFFINAL RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING

CHART 12.—Umotina, related to Bororo. *Ité* (brother) is considered more respectful than *Amend*. *Ambiendo* is used to designate younger brothers. *Ambiedo* and *Abelé* designate younger sisters. *Parepe* is added to *Menendé* to designate son or grandson. *Omenendé* is added to *Menendé* to designate daughter or granddaughter.